1: Gusinde
●101, 102, 131

SH6 Yahgan SH6

[End Map II, pages 1466-1471, has been divided into sections as indicated below.]

A 1466	B 1467	C 1468
D 1469	E 1470	F 1471

/1000 cont./

628 721 Although isolated quarrels and fights between two persons may have occurred often, a battle between two groups provoked by a murder was rare, for a murder is now and then secretly avenged by a single relative of the slain person. The Yamana are not familiar with actual marauding attacks by one group upon another, such as are customary elsewhere. Influential men sometimes try to mediate disputes with friendly words. Fitz-Roy (a): 179 reliably reported: "Warfare is so desultory, and on so small a scale among them, that the restraint and direction of their elders advised as they are by the doctors, is sufficient" /cited in English/. Despard (b):717 expressed himself just as definitely: "Warfare is not fashionable among them" /cited in English/. The basic way of life among the Yamana is not such as to permit them prolonged fights and constant quarrels (425). Every murder agitates them

425. Dabbene (b):194 is right when he says: "Wars, in the true sense of the word, whether between themselves or with neighboring tribes, have always been very rare" /translated from Spanish/.

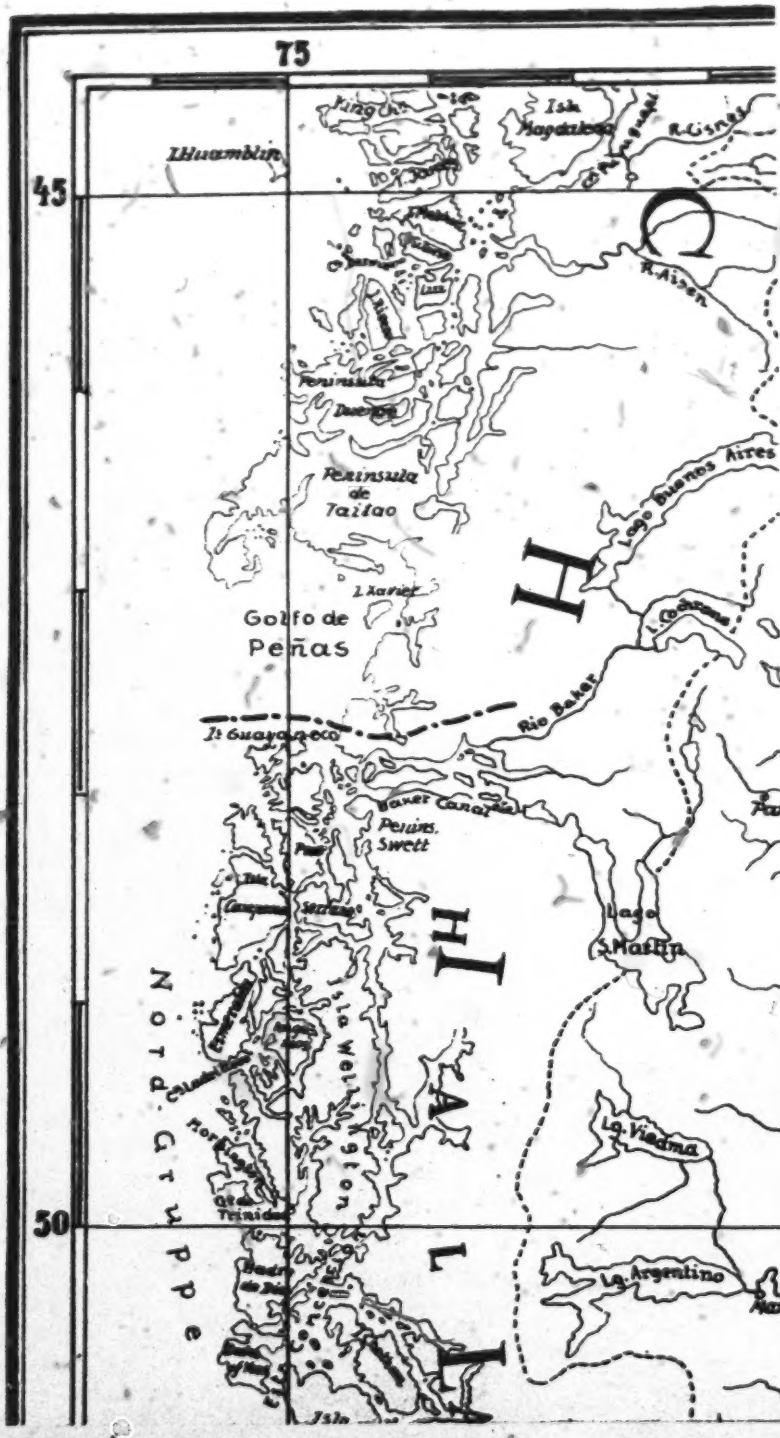
terribly, and its effect is long-lasting. Persons who have more or less settled serious quarrels between them avoid meeting each other as much as possible.

G. General Social Obligations

●101 The Yamana as an ethnic unit are separated from all their neighbors by natural boundaries alone. Everyone recognizes his membership in this ethnic unit by a common language and mode of life. Just as definitely as they differentiate themselves from other peoples by the name Yámana (p. 197 /untranslated/), they also simultaneously emphasize the solidarity of all fellow-tribesmen in the same area. This entails many personal rights, but also obligations of all for one and of one for the society. The rights to obtain food belong among the former; property relations are based upon the latter.

1:Gusinde--1466 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

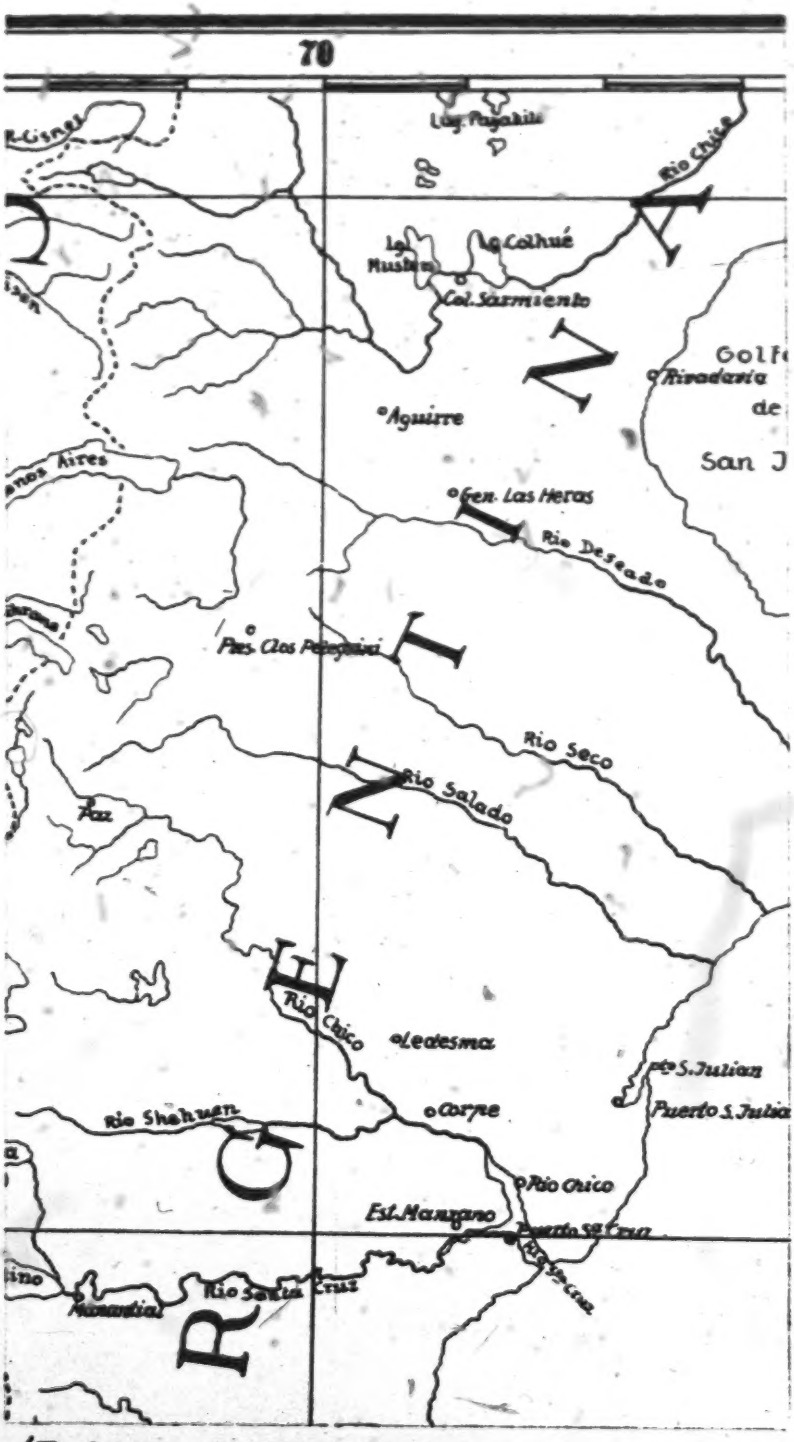
101
102
131



/End Map II, Section A/

1-Gusinde--1467 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

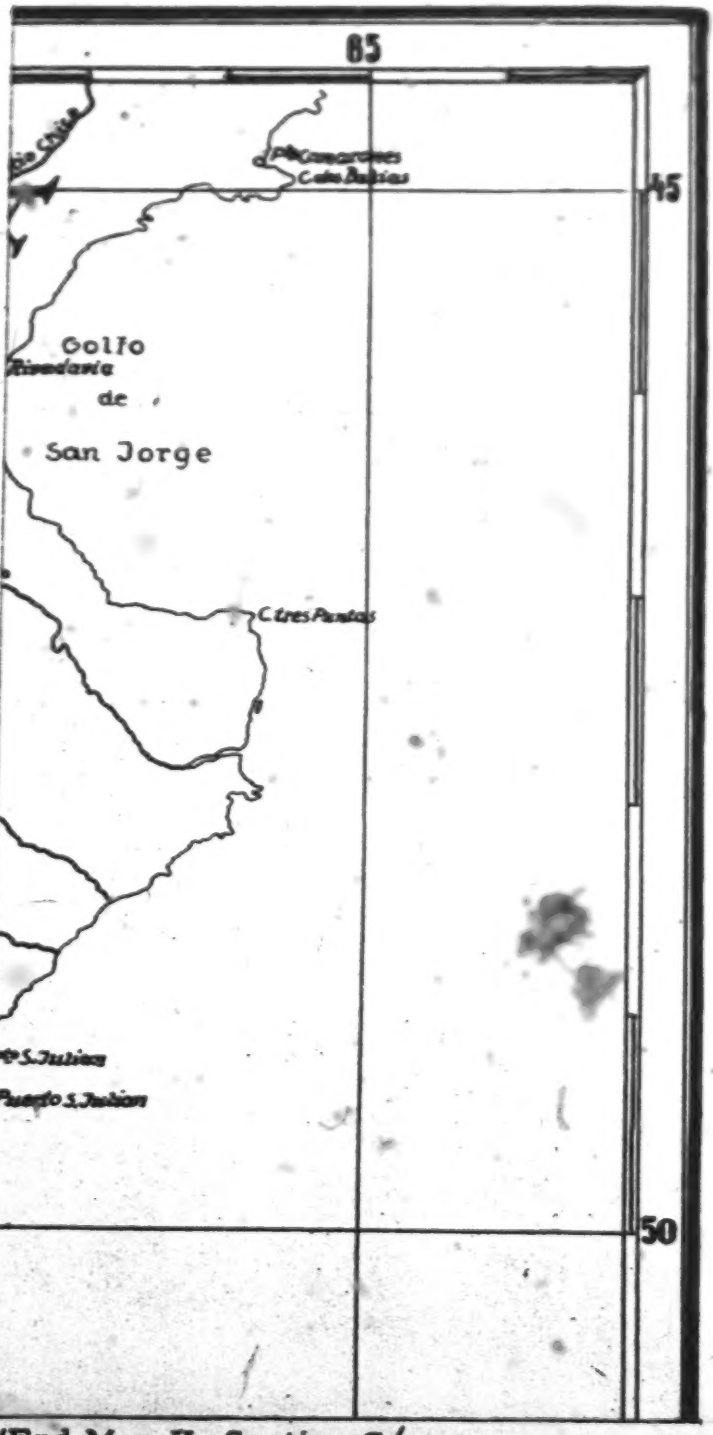
●101
102
131



/End Map II, Section B/

1:Gusinde--1468 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

● 101
102
131



/End Map II, Section C/

1.Gusinde--1469 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

● 101
102
131

55

Geographic Distribution of the Indians of Tierra del Guego.

Based on the researches of M. Gusinde and on the official maps of the German Imperial Ministry of the Navy, prepared by K. Streit.

73

/End Map II, Section D/

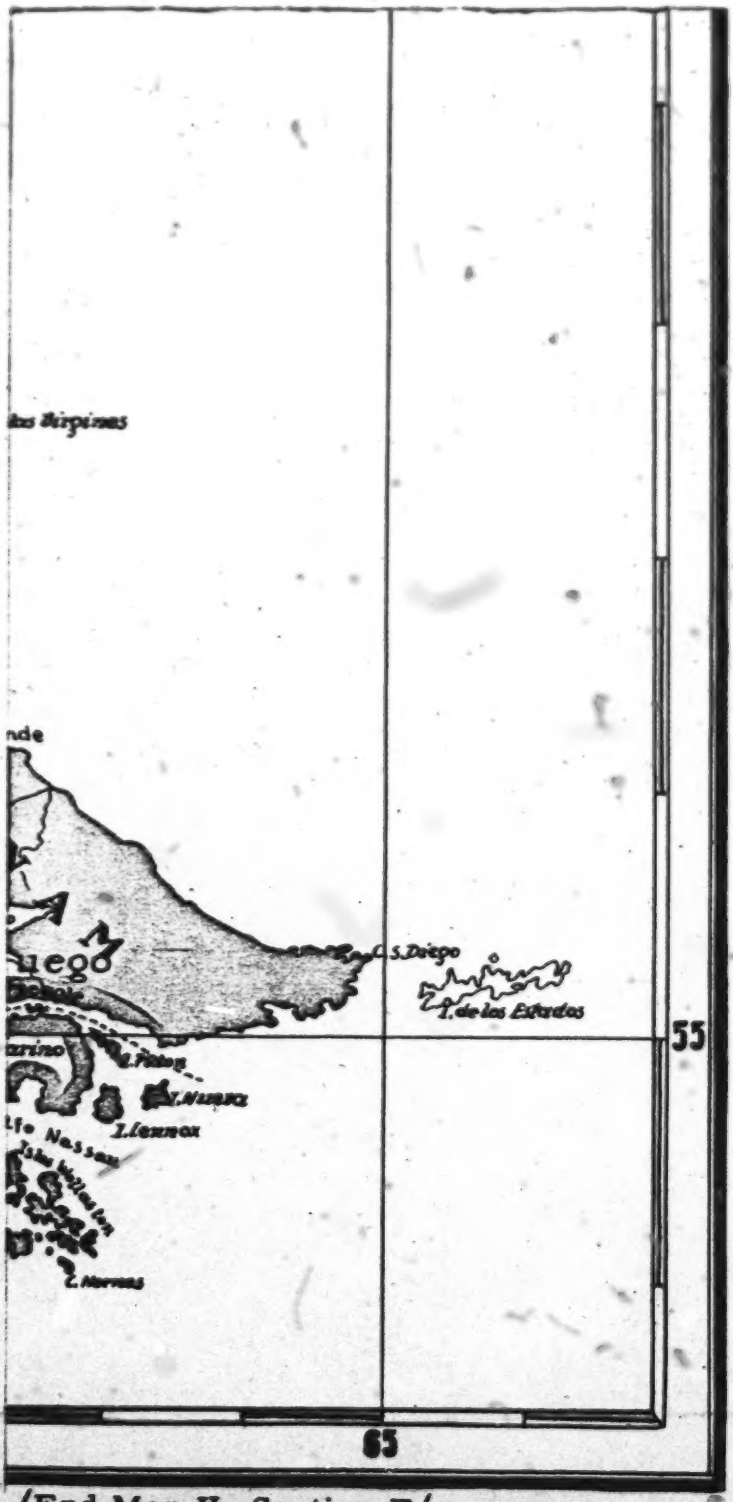
1:Gusinde--1470 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

● 101
102
131

/End Map II, Section E/

1:Gusinde--1471 E-5 (1918-1924) 1937 SH6 Yahgan SH6

101
102
131



/End Map II, Section F/

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

131 contact, barter, and intermarriage with the *Ona;* between Brecknock Peninsula and the western end of Beagle Channel, with the *Alacaluf.*

101 **Names and divisions.**—The *Yahgan* called themselves *Yámana,* "human beings." They were first called *Yahgan* by the Rev. Thomas Bridges, from Yahga, the native name for the Murray Narrows region, a locality much frequented by some of them. *Yámana* would be preferable for anthropological use, but *Yahgan* is so well established in the literature that we are retaining it in the Handbook. The *Yahgan* recognized five subdivisions, each with its own aboriginal name: a southern, an eastern, a central, a western, and a southwestern (Koppers, 1927, p. 468; 1928 a, pp. 158–159; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 199–208; Lothrop, 1928, p. 120, map opp. p. 24). These subdivisions differed more dialectically than culturally.

114 **History of investigation.**—The *Yahgan* were first visited and described by Jacques L'Hermite in 1624. The next important landmark was the *Beagle* expeditions under Admiral Robert Fitz-Roy in 1829–32. It is, however, to the Rev. Thomas Bridges that we are indebted for our first intimate insight into *Yahgan* culture and linguistics. The Italo-Argentinian expedition in 1882 and the French Cape Horn expedition in 1882–83 made important advances in *Yahgan* somatology but were largely indebted to Bridges for their cultural and linguistic data. The field studies of Fathers Martin Gusinde in 1919–23 and Wilhelm Koppers in 1922 served to complete the picture, particularly as regards social and magico-religious life. Samuel K. Lothrop's field study of 1924–25 (1928, 1932 a) rounded out our knowledge of *Yahgan* technology. The only remaining gap is that of archeology, a gap in part filled by Vignati and by Lothrop, and more recently by Junius Bird in 1932–37.

The more valuable first-hand sources on the *Yahgan* from 1624 to 1917 are: Bove (1882, 1883: the two identical on culture); T. Bridges (1866, 1886, 1892, 1893); Dabbene (1911); Despard (1863); C. W. Furlong (1909, 1917 a); Hyades (1885); Hyades and Deniker (1891: of basic importance); Lovisato (1883, 1885); South American Missionary Magazine (1854–); Spegazzini (1882). The anthropological information given in these and the other sources up to 1917 is analyzed and made available in Cooper (1917). Since 1917, the most important contributions are: Lothrop (1928), for technology; Koppers (1924) and especially Gusinde (1937), for all phases of culture, particularly the social and religious ones; Von Hornbostel (1936), for music; T. Bridges (1933), for language and general culture; Vignati (1927) and Bird (1938), for archeology; Gusinde (1939), for physical anthropology.

Gusinde's exhaustive monograph, "Die Yamana" (1937), based mostly on his and Koppers' field studies and in part on a thorough combing of the literature, gives nearly all that is known of *Yahgan*

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

114 section of this institution, especially rich in Alacaluf and Ona material, has never been adequately organized, so that in 1924 it was musty, moth-eaten, and unlabeled. A more permanent result of the Salesian efforts is the detailed linguistic study of Father José Maria Beauvoir. Also we must mention the most extraordinary photographic record of Alberto M. De Agostini.

A more detailed discussion of Fuegian anthropological literature by the present writer would be superfluous in view of the very thorough and critical study published in 1917 by the Reverend Dr. John M. Cooper, now of the Catholic University of America at Washington. In the appended bibliography I have listed those works to which reference is made in this volume and have added thereto all the titles I can find which have appeared in the last ten years in order to form a supplement to Father Cooper's admirable treatment of the subject.

THE INDIANS OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO

101 The natives of Tierra del Fuego were divided into three linguistic stocks or four tribal groups known to modern students as the Ona and Haush, Yahgan, and Alacaluf (pl. IV). These terms, of which variously spelled versions are found, come for the greater part from the Yahgan tongue because of the early missionary contact with that tribe. Haush is an Ona word. Alacaluf seems to have been employed by the group thus named to designate themselves and was also used by the Yahgan. The intertribal nomenclature is as follows:

English	Yahgan	Ona
Yahgan	Yámana [1]	{Wówun (man) Áflen (woman)
Ona	Ónа	Shíknam[a]
Alacaluf	Alacaluf	Aírro
Haush	Italum Ónа	Haúsh

[1] In recent years several writers have used this word to designate the tribe in place of the older term *Yahgan*. Were the tribe to be named for the first time, current practice would dictate the choice of *Yamana*, but *Yahgan* has been the accepted name of the group for many years and is found in most ethnological literature; hence I have continued to use it. For similar reasons I have used *Ona* instead of *Shíknam*. Likewise I have retained the tribal name *Alacaluf* in place of the recently introduced and no doubt more phonetically correct *Halakwúlup*. Such changes of terms long recorded in print form a stumbling-block to the general reader and at the same time contribute little or nothing to the specialist.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

The Ona and the Haush spoke related dialects and occupied the interior of the main island of Tierra del Fuego; they are often called the Foot Indians because of their manner of living. The Yahgan frequented the south coast of the main island and the islands to the south; the Alacaluf formerly lived at the western end of the Straits of Magellan but have moved northward to Ración sound. The habitat of each tribe as it was half a century ago is shown in pl. IV.

No census of the indigenous population in the old days was ever taken, but from several different estimates the numbers of each tribe seventy-five years ago were approximately:

Ona, 3600	Yahgan, 2800–3000
Haush, 300	Alacaluf, 3500–4000

Since at least half of the Alacaluf lived north of the Straits of Magellan, the total native population of Tierra del Fuego and the adjacent islands can scarcely have been more than 9000.

At the time of the writer's visit (1924–25) the Indian population, including mixed-bloods, was approximately:

Ona, 60–70	Yahgan, 40–50
Haush, 2– 3	Alacaluf, 150

Of the Alacaluf only two were seen south of the Straits of Magellan, as they now live far to the north, for the greater part in the vicinity of Ración sound. The figure for their numbers is the estimate of the Rev. John Williams of Punta Arenas.

Later in the same year (1925) an epidemic of measles ravaged Tierra del Fuego. What happened to the Yahgan I do not know, but Mr. William Bridges wrote me that more than twenty adult Ona and an unknown number of children had died. With the exception of a few mixed-bloods, the Indians of Tierra del Fuego are probably extinct.

Because the writer saw little of the Alacaluf and Haush, it is principally of the Ona and Yahgan we shall speak below. Before beginning a detailed description we shall discuss their environment and physical peculiarities, and shall list the features of their culture.

CLIMATE

Tierra del Fuego lies between 53° and 56° south latitude, corresponding to the position in the northern hemisphere of the Aleutian islands, southern Labrador, or the central part of Great Britain.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

	Materials	
105	wood	wood
171	sinew	sinew
	skin	skin
	stone	stone
	bone	bone
	whalebone (rare)	whalebone
	——	kelp
	grass	grass
	feathers	feathers
	——	pumice
	white clay	white clay
	red burnt earth	red burnt earth
	charcoal	charcoal
	pitch (post-European)	——
	iron (post-European)	iron (post-European)
	glass (post-European)	glass (post-European)

PHYSICAL TYPE

114 The writer engaged in no anthropometric investigation in Tierra del Fuego, but certain measurements are available by which the physical types there to be found may be determined. The most important study yet published is that of Hyades (1891) on the Yahgan prepared in coöperation with Deniker, a work surprisingly sound in method considering how long ago it appeared. A series of measurements on the Ona taken many years ago but printed recently (1927) by Dr. Lehmann-Nitsche is also of prime importance. Somatological data collected by Gusinde and Koppers in recent years is beginning to appear in print, but with a single exception it has not been possible to obtain copies in time to incorporate the material here. Other studies of smaller scope are available and have been listed by Cooper (1917, pp. 138–140) and Dixon (1923, pp. 454–455). Even when concentrated into a single group, Fuegian somatological material is not abundant.

114 Primary division of the Indians of Tierra del Fuego into groups,
101 Foot Indians and Canoe Indians, is made on cultural grounds. This classification might also be based on physical type, and, in case of the Foot Indians, on linguistic relationship. As with the cultural evidence, physical data on the Alacaluf and Haush are so scanty that we shall confine our discussion to the Ona and the Yahgan.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

PART II

CANOE INDIANS

THE YAHGAN

101 THE Yahgan Indians, the southernmost people in the world, lived on the southern shores of Tierra del Fuego from Brecknock peninsula to Spaniard harbor, and on the adjacent islands southward to Cape Horn itself (pl. IV). In spite of the tempestuous waters they confronted, they were a seafaring people and derived their livelihood almost entirely from the sea and its beaches.

172 Like the Ona, the Yahgan had to move freely and frequently in search of sustenance, but their camping-places were limited by the fact that each family was dependent on a fragile bark canoe, for which shelter must be provided. Thus favorable stretches of beach today are marked by great refuse-heaps, of most extraordinary size when one recalls that they represent only temporary stopping-places and that no family ever camped on a spot where it was known that a death had occurred. Centuries or even milleniums must have witnessed the building up of these vast agglomerations of bone and shell.

177 The Yahgan came under missionary influence in the middle of the nineteenth century, and a permanent mission station was 197 maintained among them from 1870 until recently. Hence their culture was much modified before they could be studied by trained ethnologists. For instance, by the eighties they had modified their initiation rites. We must add that among the Ona those without missionary training tended to survive the longest, but among the Yahgan the last survivors have almost invariably been mission reared.

142 Writing nearly a century ago, Fitzroy (pp. 137–139, 186) thus describes the untrammeled Yahgan of his day:

> The Tekeenica, natives of the south-eastern portion of Tierra del Fuego, are low of stature, ill-looking, and badly proportioned. Their color is that of very old mahogany, or rather between dark copper and